SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

MDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVENY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Poor Frank!

From the N.Y. Tribune. General Francis P. Blair, Jr., is the Democratic nominee for Vice President, and the notoriously delicate health of ex-Governor Seymour renders probable his early accession to the Presidency in the most improbable contingency of his party triumphing in the approaching election. His opinions, deliberately expressed, on the gravest question now demanding the attention of our countrymen were given to the public with express reference to his own nomination for the Presidency. He virtually said to the Convention, "Here is the sort of man you will find in Frank Blair; this is the way he would deal with the problem of reconstruction:-if you would have it so dealt with. I am your man. The Convention nominated him, not merely in view of this letter, but emphatically because of this letter: -and the unchanged Rebel organs at the South are now quoting and exnlting over it as their strong reason for supporting the Tammany ticket. It is the keynote of their canvass. Hence the importance widely attached to it.

The World is troubled by this letter. It hadly wants to have its ticket regarded as Conservative; while here is its second candidate's letter of the most Jacobinic and revolutionary type-not an old letter, hunted up to at my him by its untimely reminiscences; not a private letter, betrayed by some friendly in-discretion; but a fresh, deliberate letter, writfor the public, and first printed in the d-written for the Convention expressly mmend the writer to its favor-as it eviw did. How are its clear drift and pur-

explained away? World tries to set a back-fire-or rather ise a smoke-by talking of one Grealey, has been (and is) an advocate of univerunesty and impartial suffrage-who chose phasize his convictions at the moment to do so was to preclude his own election to the United States Senate, which others said kalle se been certain -who defied caution, and alic ated friends by signing the bail-bond of rson Davis, etc. etc. This the World ple: Is as an offset to B air's Jacobinism.

who objects to Biair that he would be me al to those who have been Rebels? Who assailed him as an advocate of Universal sty? Look again at his programme, as unlly put forth by the World:-"I here is but one way to restore the Govern-

and the Constitution; and that is for the tent-elect to declare these (Reconstruc-acts null sud void, compet the army to its usurpations at the South, disperse the of bug State tovernments, allow the white d lect Senators and Representatives. The of Representatives will contain a ma-of Democrats from the North, and they admit the representatives elected by the people of the South, and with the contion of the President, it will not be diffito be obligate as of the Constitution. It will sble to withstand the public judgment strictly luvoked and clearly expressed on (the fundamental issue; and it is the sure way old all future strife to put this issue plainly to the country.

-General Blair, it will be seen, chooses "to put this issue painty to the country." He deems this "the sure way to avoid all future strife." He, therefore, matures his pro gramme; the World prints it; the Democratic Convention adopts it, by nominating its author. If the American people want that programme executed, they will of course elect that author. There is the whole case in a nutshell; and we are willing to submit it on the instant and without further argument.

The World, unable to vindicate Blair's manifesto, essays the safer task of misrepresenting Greeley, whose position it thus caricatures:-

"His creed, habitually condensed by himself into the brevity of a motto, was 'Universal Amnesty and Impartial Suffrage.' He remonstrated with great force of argument and head-strong fervor against the impolicy, and what he then regarded as the futility of excluding the leading citizens of the south from active par-ticipation in the politics of their section. He did not think it essential that all the negroes should vote, but only such part of them as should be found to possess reasonable qualifications of intelligence.

-Mr. Greeley did not, and does not, believe that men should be disfranchised to-day merely because they were Rebels years ago. All he requires is, that they shall now be hearty Unionists, loyal to their country and to Republican liberty. But if the Ku-Kiux Klan, the assassins of Ashburn, the systematic burners of school-houses for blacks, and those who, according to her Constitutional Convention, have made Texas a Pandemonium of murder whenever the presence of a Copperhead as Military Commander rendered the homicide of Unionists a safe amusement, are to be enfranchised at once, without condition or qualification, it will be on some other motion than that of Mr. Greeley. He would gladly blot out all remembrance of bygone Rebellion, provided those who are to be amnestied will cease to act as malignant, rancor-

ous Rebels. As to suffrage, the World deliberately and wilfully misrepresents Mr. Greeley. He never favored universal suffrage-that is, suffrage without qualification or restriction. He would prefer that a light poll-tax should be assessed upon every saue adult male citizen, and make the tax-list of any election district its registry of legal voters. But he utterly condemns and protests against any discrimination based on color, and insists that nothing shall disqualify a black that does not equally disquality a white. If there are to be "reasonable qualifications of intelligence" (a very slippery test), they should apply to white and black alike; or, if there be any discrimination, it should favor those who cannot read simply because to teach them was, in their youth, a crime against the

The World seeks to deduce from its false premises conclusions absolutely monstrous

"With what consistency can he (Greeley) de nonce as 'evolutionary' an attempt to und a what, in his opt ion, ought naver to have been done? In his opinion, the disfranchisement of the leading Sou hern whites was an unwise and mistaken policy; bow theu can he object to its reversal? In his opinion, the security of the negro race did not require that all of them should vote, but only those who are qualified; why then should he regard as a calamity the prospect of restoring things to the basis which he him self proposed as a settlement of our diffi-

Reply .- What General Blair proposes is not to repeal, to reverse, to restore, to enfranchise, but expressly to "treat the Reconstruction acts as null and void," to "disperse" by military force "the carpet-bag State Governments." expel by violence from Congress the present Representatives of Southern States, and "allow the white people to reorganize their own Governments and elect Senators and Repregentatives " All this is based on the grossly anconstitutional assumption that whites, as whites, are entitled to special and exclusive privileges in the Union-that blacks (in short) have no rights that whites are bound to respect." It is the vital spirit of the late Rebellion, reviving its watchwords and repeating its resort to violence and bloodshed in their

support. General Blair proposes nakedly an aristocratic usurpation and a reactionary revolution. Even were the Reconstruction acts as bad as their enemies charge, this would be utterly unjustifiable-nay, at rocious. But when we consider that their most distinctive characteristic is not restriction but enfranchisementthat they are all that stand between four millions of our countrymen and life-long vassalage-we feel that the man who proposes their overthrow by revolutionary conspiracy and military force is a blacker traitor than even Louis Napoleon. We give the Democracy joy of their convert-candidate! May be cling to them like the shirt of Nessus !

"The Electoral College." From the N. Y. World.

There is no Electoral College in the wide sense in which this phrase is used by many (in other respects) intelligent people. The Times of Friday, for example, had an article on "The South in the Electoral College," meaning the aggregate of the Presidential Electors. But the Presidential Electors never assemble as one body, and are in no proper sense a college either in law or in fact. word college does not occur in the Constitution, nor (we believe) does any law of the United States use the phrase Electoral College until 1845. In the act passed that year the expression is borrowed from the State statutes, and employed in the sense it had long borne in them, being used to designate the collective body of the Presidential Electors of each separate State when assembled for the discharge of their duty. When the whole number of Electors is meant, the proper designation is not (in the singular) the Electoral College, but (in the plural) the Electoral Colleges.

The acts of 1845 provides "that each State

may by law provide for the filling of any vacancy or vacancies in its College of Electors, when such College meets to give its electoral votes"-from which it is apparent that there are as many Electoral Colleges as there are States; but there is no legal authority for calling all the Presidential Electors of the United States a College. As we have said, the word college as applied to the Presidential electors originated in the statutes of the several States. As early as 1796 the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a law authorizing its "Electoral College" to fill vacancies in their own number, the Governor signing the bill, and the next day going to the Secretary's office and erasing his name. The laws of New York provide that those of the Electors who shall be present at four o'clock in the afternoon of the day fixed for their meeting, "shall immediately after that hour proceed to fill by ballot al vacancies in the Electoral College, and that the Electoral College being thus completed, they shall then choose a President and Secretary from their own body." The law of Pennsylvania has a similar provision for filling vacancies, adding that the names of the persons so chosen (to fill vacancies) "shall be immediately transmitted by the presiding officer of the College to the Governor;" and further on the same law provides that "the contingent expenses of the Electoral College shall be paid by the State Treasurer upon warrants drawn by the presiding officer of the College." These quotations suffice to exemplify the appropriate use of the word, and to show that the proper designation for all the Presidential Electors is the "Electoral Coleges"-there being an Electoral College in each State, but no general College including them all.

We would not have taken up so much space with what may seem a mere verbal criticism, if the topic were not important in another view. There being no general electoral colege, that is to say, no assembling of all the Presidential Electors as an organized body, there exists, under the Constitution, no regular means of deciding such debatable questions as may arise respecting the competency of electors from particular States; a matter which has been of no practical interest heretofore, but which bids fair to be of the deepest consequence in the Presidential election now approaching. Judge Story said, many years ago, in his "Commentaries on the Constitution," that "in the original plan, as well as in the amendment, no provision is made for the discussion or decision of any questions which may arise as to the regularity and authenticity of the returns of the returns of the electoral votes, or the manner or circumstances in which they ought to be counted. It seems to have been taken for granted that no question could ever arise on the subject; and that nothing more was necessary than to open the certificates which were produced, in the presence of both Houses, and to count the names and numbers as returned. And yet it is easily to be conceived, that very delicate and interesting inquiries may occur, fit to be debated and decided upon by some deliberative body. In fact, a question did occur in the counting of the votes for the Presidency in 1821, upon the re-election of Mr. Monroe, whether the votes of the State of Missouri could be counted; but as the count would make no difference in the choice, and the declaration was made of his re-election, the Senate immediately withdrew, and the jurisdiction as well as the course of proceeding in a case of real controversy was left in a most embarrassing situation."

It is clear from this passage that Judge Story was of opinion that the Constitution has conferred no authority upon Congress to decide questions of this kind. Certain it is that no such anthority is anywhere in express terms given, and Congress has yet to produce its warrant for its recent intermeddling with the subject. The Constitution confers upon each House power to "judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own membut nowhere is it said that Congress may judge of the elections, returns, and qualifloations of the Presidential electors. If the action of Congress on this subject were in accordance with lairness and justice, instead of being dictated by views of party advantage, it might pass without serious question; but its authority to meddle with the subject will not go unchallenged when a barefaced attempt is made to defraud States of this Union of their right to participate in the Presidential election.

It is proper that the usurping demagogues in the Federal Capitol should be warned in time against proceeding to such extremities that forbearance would ceare to be a virtue. The actual majority of the citizens of the United States must have a fair opportunity to decide who shall govern the country. If the will of the majority is defeated by political knavery, they will have power (being a majority) to redress the wrong; and Congress mistakes the temper of American freemen it it supposes that they will not have also the If we are fairly beaten after an honest election, we understand and shall practise the proper virtue of a minority-submission. But we shall not tamely submit to be cheated. If the Republican party administer the Govern ment for the next four years, it must be in virtue of an actual majority, not a fletitious majority obtained by proscription and exclusion. The physical power of the country resides with the arithmetical majority; and as the Constitution has provided no other tribunal for deciding on the claim of electoral votes to be counted, it concerns the peace of the country that Congress do not Interfere to

prevent the voice of the actual majority from

deciding who shall be President.

This warning cannot be construed as a threat without a confession that the R-pub licans intend to stifle the votes that ought to be counted, and to declare their candidate. elected even though they should receive but a minority of the whole electoral votes. In the interest of peace, we beseech them to permit a fair election.

Mr. Pendleton on the Financial Situation -The Prospect for the Next Congress. From the N. Y. Heraid.

There appeared in yesterday's Herald exclusively a pretty full report of a speech by Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, at Grafion, to the Democratic State Convention of West Virginia and some thousands of other persons in mass meeting together there assembled. In this speech Mr. Pendieton elaborated his well known views on the financial situation. His position may be given in a few words, however, extracted from the body of his argument.

"I am," said the distinguished orator, "hostile to no class or interest in this country. simply desire to be just-just to the bondholders, just to the people. I would live up with scrupulous fidelity to the terms of our contracts. I would pay the interest of the fivetwenties in gold, because the Government promised to do so; I would pay principal and interest of the ten-forties in gold, because the Government has promised to do so; I would pay the principal of the five-twenties in legal tender notes, because the bondholders agreed to receive them in payment; and as I would not repudiate an honest bargain to make money for the people, so I would not repudiste an honest bargain to make money for the public creditors." Again:—"These bonds operate as a mortgage upon the property and labor of the country. There are two thousand millions of them. Pay off these two thousand millions, and will not the legal-tenders be first in the proportion more valuable?" the debt was contracted in legal-tenders, since it may be lawfully and honestly paid in legaltenders, I am in favor of continuing it until we can secure the people, who have already suffered all the evils, whatever good may be expected from the system."

These are the views of Mr. Pendleton, and they are the Democratic platform on the bond mestion. Whether they are or are not the Republican platform we cannot positively undertake to say. It is open question with the Republicans, subject to the drift of the popular tide. The Hon. Ben. Butler says that according to "the letter and spirit of the contract" and the Chicago platform the Fivetwenties are redeemable in legal-tenders. The Hon, Thad, Stevens says that these bondholders have no right to expect gold when greenbacks are the article, according to the etter and spirit of the law; and Stevens ought to know. A majority of the Republicans in the House of Representatives, we have no doubt, are with Stevens and Butler; for a majority of them voted with the Democrats in favor of the late resolution instructing the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill for the taxation of the bonds to the figure of ten per cent. The great body of the people out West of both parties are with Pendleton, Stevens, and Butler, and it is probable that a larger preportion of the people of the East than our political philosophers can imagine are of the same way of thinking.

Congress, meantime, (both parties in both Houses) has become so thoroughly and inexplicably mixed up on the money question, in all its divisions-bonds, taxes, banks, funding bills, tariffs, and what not-that we can expect nothing materially changing the precent state of things, at least till the next session. Besides being completely muddled on all these financial problems, the members of the two Houses are anxious to bring this session to a close, and go home to look after their own interests with their constituents. On returning home they will find the current of public opinion running in a certain direction. Each member who is a candidate for re-ele and every new candidate for the next Congress, will be apt to shape his course as far as possible to the prevailing views of his people. in this view we may reasonably expect that Butler, Stevens, and Pendleton, on money matters, will be supported by an overwhelming majority in the next House of Representatives, the bulk of which is to be elected in the coming October and November.

Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, of the great Northern States, lead off in their Congressional elections in October, and the results, we dare say, will go very far to show that a predominant idea, East and West, among the people is that every legal expedient calculated to reduce and extinguish this general burden of the national debt and its heavy taxations must be adopted, that the people will not have this thing continued indefinitely, but will demand such measures of legislation as will afford a fair prospect that the present generation will live to be relieved of all these heavy taxes and official spoliations and corruptions resulting from the national debt. The payment of the interest until the time for the payment of the principal of these different sorts of bonds is fully due will not answer. The people want the principal itself extinguished as fast as the means and legal advantages possessed by the government will permit; and upon this important question we expect, we say, in the com-ing October Congressional elections, an overwhelming popular vindication of the general opinions of Stevens, Pendl ton and Butler on the bonds and their redemption.

Impudence Extraordinary. From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

For the very sublimity of impudence and cheek commend us to Wade Hampton, of South Carolina. Here is a rampant fire-eater of the Palmetto State who went about South Carolina firing the heart of the populace and urging them forward into the vortex of Rebel-He seduced all the "sciens of chivalry" into his command, and spent most of his time, while in the field, in writing buncombe blood and thunder letters, delivering blood and thunder speeches, and in inditing sancy and vain glorious missives to Federal commanders. When Sherman advanced from Atlanta on his march to the sea, he sent him a most insulting communication, wherein he coolly stated that he should hang all the Yankee soldiers captured while on foraging expeditions. General Sherman replied, daring him to carry out any such atrocious policy, and threatening, in re-taliation, the shooting of five Rebels for every Federal prisoner put to death. This response had a decidedly soothing effect upon the bloodthirsty cavalry commander, whose far-famed exploits existed only in the imagination of the Southern people, and he didn't do much

killing. Finally, when Grant and Sherman's splendid combinations brought Joe Johnston to bay, and he gave up his sword to the latter, this Wade Hampton, instead of surrendering, as the terms of the capitulation demanded, sneaked off to South Carolina with a troop of horse, and declared that he would never sub-mit to the "d-d Yankees." Then, if not before, all the loyal people of the country thought that he should be embraced among the very first of the list of twenty or thirty traitors who it was believed would be made to suffer the extreme penalty of treason. Wade Hampton, however, was afterwards permitted to give his parole and eat his words. Under the immunity granted by this parole, he at once set about the work of firing the Southern

heart anew, and, could other States have been persuaded to follow his lead, he would have ecipitated South Carolina uto a fresh rebel-

This unrepentant Rebel now has the effcontery, after thus being "let off" for his treason to come here to the metropolis of the country and insult its defenders and preservers with an appeal to the Democratic Party to use the bayonet in tearing asunder the laws of Congress. He, and others at the South, have been disfranchised for inaugurating and carrying forward a huge rebellion which incurred the loss of a million of lives and the expenditure of billions of treasure. He now declares, here in New York, that he and his fel low-conspirators will vote in spite of the law dis ranchising them, and he calls upon the Democratic party to force an admittance loto the ballot-boxes for their ballots with the

If this is not the beight of insolence, andacity, and impudence, where shall we

The Political Prospect.

From the N. Y. Times. The Democratic papers are finding it painfully hard work to get up a show of "enthusiasm" for their caudidate, and to overcome the all but universal disappointment which

appeared in the party on the announcement the nomination of Seymour. They talk constantly at the top of their lungs, and proclaim the merits of the great inchoate "states man" in the most torrid rhetoric. They show his war record to be gloriously patriotic, and his labor: for the Union and for the Union army to have been sleepless, energetic, and triumphant. It is of course assumed that the people of the North have already forgotten the history of his career a few years ago. It presumed that all the citizens of New York have suddenly forgotten what every citizen knew perfectly well but yesterday as it werethat Seymour was among the foremost representatives of that hard-skinned Copperhead faction which began by denying the constitutional power of the people to save the Union, and which all through the great struggle tried to discourage the spirit of patriotism, to embarrass the efforts of the Government, and to bring about a disgraceful and destructive compromise with the leaders of the pro-slavery

The Democratic papers not only find they have hard work, but they cannot help show ing that it is dispiriting. The country gives no sign of responding to their unnaturally "enthusiastic" appeals; and while they have been talking about a want of Republican enthusiasm for Grant, in whom the people have too deep confidence to tolerate any frothy nonsense, they cannot fail to see the utter desperation of their attempt to manufacture for Seymour anything whatever beyond the patent party spume which can be made to appear at any time on the smallest provoca-

Under such circumstances as these-with the dismal feeling that the Democratic party will meet another crushing defeat in November, it is but natural that the Democratic press should labor to keep up the heart of the party by giving it cheap and easy paper victories every day between now and the election. They show the States that will vote for them, the majorities they will get, the huge successes they are bound to win, and the immense procession which will wind up the whole affair. It is perhaps as well they should find comfort in this sort of thing. We have heard of their frequently doing so before during the last ten years; and though one might have supposed they would have learned enough in that time to check their tendency for discounting victories in advance, they seem to enjoy the delu-

sion as much as ever. We ourselves don't often indulge in party estimates, nor do we mean to do so at this time-though we have not the shadow of a doubt that the Grant ticket will poll decisive majorities in far the greater part of all the States of the Union. But our "Veteran Observer," who, though we do not always agree with his philosophy (nor he with ours) is one of the acutest political speculators and statistical prophets in this country, has sent us, in one of his recent letters, an estimate of the probable result of the forthcoming election, which we will quote for the entertainment of Democrats. Says he:-

"Seven of the Southern States have been read" mitted, and five of those seven will vote to Grant, if not all. Connecticut and California which the Democrats boasted of, will go for Grant. From the Delaware river to the Pacific Ocean there is no State likely to vote for Saymout except Kentucky. Biair has no popularity in Missouri. He has tried his best against the radicals there, and signally failed. With a Western candidate and a good platform Indi-ana might be deemed doubtful; but, as it is, Indiana will give a larger majority for Grant and Colfax than it did for Governor Morton. Onlo will poli her old-fashioned Republican majoritles, and the residue of the Western States will vept for Grant with a tornado. As the probabilities now stand, Grant will carry twenty seven States, Seymour seven, and three will no

-The three last referred to being the three unreconstructed Southern States. The same writer makes an estimate of the result of the Congressional elections, which we will also transfer to this place as a piece of cold comfort for the Democrats:-

"From Pennsylvania to Colorado there are nine n embers, electing seventy-four members of which the Democrats are not likely to elec more than thirteen, but may possibly elect eighteen. In Indiana it is not probable they will elect more than one, but there are two other districts in which there is a possibility of electing Democrats. In Ohlo the Republicans may lose two districts, but probably not. In New York the Republicans cannot lose for they were reduced to their minimum before. The senate is made more radical by the accession of the Sonthern members. There is, therefore, a probability feat the next Congress will be as strongly Republican as this,"

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